of hypnosis conventionally described as religious ecstasy. 792
A Rowanduz guide said that one day he had encountered 781
Hajji Mustafa and twenty or thirty of his fellows marching [158]
along a lonely road, beating tambourines and singing, in
a state of complete frenzy. "I am a good friend of Hajji
Mustafa," the Rowanduz said, "and have known him for
years, but he did not seem to see me." Hajji Mustafa
was present at this conversation, and confirmed his de-
tachment with no little pride.

The dervishes can be organised into regular groups, 792
for example, there are some villages in which the entire
adult male population belong to an order, or can operate
alone. One individual pointed out as a dervish visited
Rowanduz from time to time dressed in a ragged brown
cassock bound at the waist with a piece of rope and ob-
tained money from amused patrons in the tea-shops by
swallowing large pebbles. The sums thus realised he spent
on food and drink. This person was generally considered [825]
demented, and was occasionally locked up by the police
for his outbursts. The chief exhibition of their power 792
by most dervishes, however, is snake-charming. The de- 789
tection and handling of poisonous reptiles is considered
the best evidence of a dervish's supernatural abilities
and is subject to loud display. It is commonplace in
Rowanduz to see some dervish, back from a snake-hunt,
wandering among the guests in a tea-shop with a squirming
specimen clutched in each hand. These snake-charmers [158]
often seem to be in a trance-like state, their eyes

[illegible] and blessings, as they formerly celebrate their achievements. They are also supposed to be able to "read" over those who have been bitten by snakes and effect their cure. They sell or give onlookers lumps of sugar on which certain symbols have been scrawled. If eaten, this sugar is believed to confer the power of snake-charming. They have other exhibitions, such as mutilating their bodies in various ways without experiencing pain. Hajji Mustafa exhibited his forearms which were covered with scars from past demonstrations. In addition to these displays and their tumultous meetings, the dervishes commonly practice white magic for those who seek their aid, but are for the most part engaged in everyday employment.

The dervishes usually wear the garb of the countryside. Hajji Mustafa wore Kurdish trousers and shirt, but disdained the sash. His headdress consisted of a skullcap with a turban wound flat about it as in the case of the mullas. On formal errands, for example, when he was called to the serai in connection with firing the Ramadan cannon, Hajji Mustafa added a light brown Arab cloak and carried a walking-stick or staff. Some dervishes bind their waists with the rosary of 99 wooden beads. The tools of Hajji Mustafa's dervish activities, observed in his house, consisted of a flag, an old rifle, a sword, a huge tambourine perhaps three feet in diameter, a begging bowl (the traditional badge of the dervish) made of a large hollowed gourd with a strap for carrying it over the shoulder, and a tattered copy of the Shajara (Arabic, "tree") of 'Abd

postman, quack doctor, roaster of meat, servant, and spy. 159
illustrates the personality of many of the darwishes, as well [463]
as the diversity of occupations which a commoner can experience in the Rowandus area. A cheerful egotist, he discovered something in the darwish movement which offered [792]
the social status he desired, having been dissatisfied with other fields of endeavor. In spite of his statement above, [805]
he is generally acknowledged to be the worst barber in the bazar, because he sacrifices attention to business to the pleasures of conversation. He and his family are tacitly supported by the house of Shakir Effendi with "gifts" of food and money. Although he is considered slightly demented, [732]
the townspeople are fond of Hajji Mustafa, who adds colour and noise to everyday life, and he is dearly loved by the children.

There are many miscellaneous beliefs to be recorded 771
in the town, some with obvious religious character and others not. As in the case of folktales, further investigation, particularly among the villages, might provide a large body of variant beliefs and practices. Several of the outstanding examples will suffice, for the purpose of this study, to illustrate the general character. When there has been a 789
drought which has assumed alarming proportions, the townspeople and villagers make processions out into the countryside to sacrifice one or more sheep. If they encounter a stream on their way, one of their number is good-naturedly thrown into it. At the same time, children make simple dolls of cloth and go from house to house. The inhabitants of

each dwelling give them a small sum and pour a little water over the dolls. Another custom is to empty a basin of water on the ground after the departure of a traveler. Browne noticed this as he was leaving Tehran: 789 [484]

> . . . as I mounted amidst many good wishes for my journey I heard the splash of water as it was thrown after me. What the origin of this curious ceremony may be I do not know, neither did I see it practiced on any other occasion.[1]

In Rowanduz, Tuesday is considered to be an unlucky day for any outstanding enterprise, such as a major business transaction or a wedding. As among many primitive groups, the parings of fingernails and hair from a comb are not to be thrown away. There is no belief that they might be used in black magic, but it is considered "best" to wrap them in a bit of paper or a rag and place the packet in a crevice. A tooth is also put in a hole of some sort in the wall of the house, "in order that no one will get a headache." Dreams are, to some extent, considered to have prophetic significance. "An angel may come in a dream," it was said, "and point out the location of buried treasure." Some of the other superstitions, for example, the significance attached to bread, have been noticed in previous sections. 777 802 [751] 787 [776]

In concluding this section, it is difficult, if not impossible, to assay the piety of the inhabitants of Rowanduz as a whole. There are many of the townspeople who do not say five prayers daily or fast during Ramadan, and a large number of the chieftains seem to take their faith 771

[1] Browne, 1893, p. 174.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The cap may

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have a small amulet packet sewn on to it, and genuine or imitation jewels. In a provincial town like, say, Halabja, the cap (E. 2352) was not concealed by any form of wound turban and could be sewn all over with large Persian silver coins overlapping each other like tiles (E. 2298). At most other places, however, the turban and brow cloth belonged to the headdress.

The neck veil, *dawali*, possibly also *jâwane*[14], (E. 2345) is triangular. It is attached by a loop in the middle of the long side to a coin on the top of the cap, and covers the neck. The point of the neck veil hangs down the back, whilst the two long narrowing ends are crossed in front, led over the shoulders, and tied together at the neck. The material is coarse, coloured cotton tulle[15].

The shoulder cloth (E. 2343) is rectangular, 0.96 m. × 0.96 m. There are 27 tassels in a row on each side of the two opposite sides. The cloth is placed over the shoulders so that the tasselled sides hang vertically down the back[16], the two upper corners being pinned together under the chin[17]. The material is unlined brocade.

The turban cloth[18], *alvbâst*, (E. 2346), is 1.50 m. long, sewn of two layers of narrow bias strips of brocade. In the centre it is 0.13 m. wide and tapers away to both ends, the one side being straight, the other forming a concave arc. Along the straight side 22 tassels are distributed. The turban cloth ends as a double plait at both ends, being finished off with tassels. Its full length is thus 2.20 m. The turban cloth is folded double along its length with the tassels outside, and is wound like a broad band twice around the cap. The centre of the cloth is placed on the neck. It crosses over the brow and is

Fig. 56. Neck veil (E. 2345) of light blue coarse tulle interwoven with silver threads. Fastened to the cap by a loop, hanging down the back, whilst the two narrowing ends are crossed over the breast and tied behind the neck.

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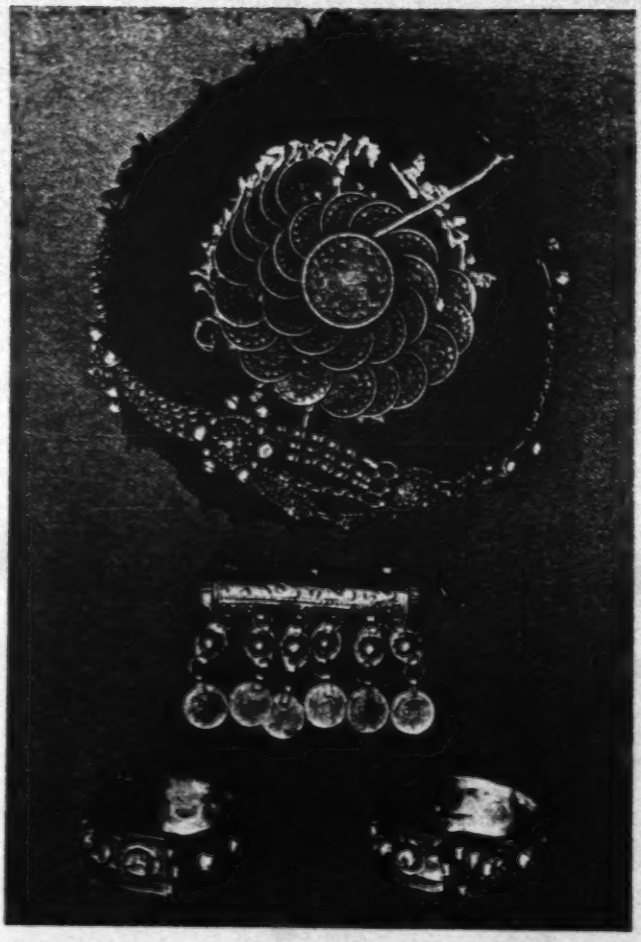

Fig. 67. Jewellery for women: cap with Persian silver coins sewn on (E. 2298). Halabja. Cylindrical amulet box (E. 2292) and bangles (E. 2296–97). Sulaimani.

[P.83]

The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband subjected to neighbours' pressure, to initiate negotiations about one wife more[56], who would be able to bear him a son. Attempts were made to protect a male child against the evil eye by dressing it in girl's clothes[57], by sewing triangular amulet packets onto its clothes, and by fasting ornaments to its hair and glass beads and buttons around the arms. These ornaments were blue, the colour that averts evil (see amulets).

Circumcision, an ancient Arab custom, is preserved in Islam, though not directly mentioned in the Coran. According to Juynboll[58] the male child is circumcised on the 7th day, the 40th day, or not until its 7th year of life or on reaching puberty. According to Østrup[59], circumcision is performed on the 8th day of life at the same time as the naming ceremony. In the case of the Kurdish boys, it is said to be practised when they are about 5 days old.

Naming ceremony. In Southern Kurdistan the naming ceremony was said to take place on the child's 7th day of life. According to my interpreter, a *mulla*, sitting in a tailor's posture, took the child on his lap and whispered 7 times into its ear: "I call thee (name), son (daughter) of Havva (Eve)". Examples of names for boys are: *'Arif, Hamid, Ja'fer, Karim, Kemāl, Mahmud, Majid, Muhammad, Qāsim, Sa'id, Sardār, Wahid, Walid*, and for girls: *Aja, 'Afiya, Gulla, Maliha, Nāhid, Nāhida, Sabiha*.

In accordance with Oriental custom the Kurds have no surname[60]. In the case of men the addition of the title Sayyid or Sheikh existed. My host at the village of Topzawa was referred to by everybody, also by his wife, as "Sheikh" Taifūr. In my experience the term sheikh was used in front of a man's name to describe a man of the village aristocracy belonging to the family that owned the village in question. For example there were *Sheikh Taifūr* and his brother, usually called "*Mām(a)-Xāl(a)*", but whose real name was *Abdul Qādir Sheikh 'Arif*, who owned the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa in concert. There was also a third brother, *Kāka Rīzā* (Elder brother R.) or *Sheikh Rizā*, who owned the village of Sargalu. The eldest son of Sheikh Taifūr was likewise addressed as *Sheikh Sardār*. Thus the word sheikh is not a designation for a descendant of the prophet, as maintained by Barth[61] and Lees[62], both of whom confuse the term "Sheikh" with that of "Sayyid". In Kurdistan, I found that "Sheikh" stood for a member of a tribal ruling family[63] and also that, as maintained by Leach: "the name is however carried as an ordinary name"[64]. As regards the people I lived amongst the term carried with it no religious power or reputation of holiness[65].

Additions like those, used in Arabia and Iran:[66] "father to, slave of, son of ... and so forth, are not used by the Kurds.

Women are addressed and referred to as "madame", (in my case Madame Henny, not Madame Hansen). In addition—a peculiarity of the Kurds—the male title "khan" could be added to the name of a distinguished woman[67]. My interpreter referred to and addressed her 3 year old sister as Bella Khan, called Sheikh Taifūr's wife Na'ima Khan, and was herself referred to as Maliha Khan.

The kindergarten child. Analysis of the position of the child. As opposed to Christianity, Islam allows no place for the infant and small child, as it first recognises the child as a member of the community

4: Hansen E.-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

795 831 word a mixture of indecency and perversion, violently opposed to Islam. For many years the Arab authorities were alarmed by rumours that the Haqqa sect among Kurds was increasing in influence and, centred on Sargalu, was penetrating into neighbouring regions despite the fact that the "teachers", and their "pupils", were repeatedly summoned to Sulaimani for interrogation.

It thus seems that under the influence of neo-platonic ideas the metaphysical speculations of Sufism have at times led to pantheism and doctrines contrary to Islamic law. This has exercised a certain influence on Kurds with whom I dwelt. It is a matter for a religious historian to enlarge upon. I merely point to its existence.

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771 789 *Superstition and witchcraft.* Mention has already been made of features that can be traced back to superstition and sorcery: the sugar strewn over the bride's pieces of clothing before sewing (p. 126), the blow on the bride's head, the fowl released over her on her arrival at the bridal house (p. 130, 131), and the lump of honey laid in a piece of folded bread and then placed under the mattress on which she will sit on arrival (p. 130). The killing of a fowl on the death of a child has also been referred to (p. 142). I shall now discuss the use of amulets, both the visible and encased varieties, the importance attached to reproductions of the holy hand, visits to saints' graves, and finally, the existence of rag trees and rag poles among the Kurds, and the sacrifice of animals as a healing ceremony.

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789 565 *Amulets.* In Southern Kurdistan these were to be found among women in the aristocratic village milieu, in the humble village milieu and in the uneducated urban milieu. They were not used within the educated urban milieu.

789 Amulets are supposed to protect against *jinns*, devils created by fire[24], and to avert the evil eye. They were of two kinds: visible and encased. The first type consists of a kind of ornament and is therefore difficult to distinguish from jewellery without magical qualities. They could be purchased in the bazar and were thus a commercial commodity which in virtue of their colour, form and material contained a latent force that could protect their owners from all evil. In Kurdistan both dead objects and living beings could have these magic objects hung upon them.

301 789 [822] A chain of large blue glass beads was hung around the neck of a horse (Serkan); a blue button was hung on a churning frame (Topzawa); and a blue button was fastened to a Singer sewing machine (Kirkuk). This was done to protect the animal, and the products made by the objects, from evil influence. It has often been pointed out that blue affords protection against the evil eye[25].

789 858 301 The same blue colour is found in the small articles to be worn by children. A necklet (E. 2287a), 0.28 m. long, for a baby is composed of black and white glass beads in which is hung a light-blue button and two small plastic reproductions of the holy hand[26], the one red and the other blue. In addition, buttons (E. 2287b-c) for sewing on children's clothes[27] and a scorpion (E. 2287d) made of light-blue glass beads, also intended for sewing on children's clothes. Finally, a silver chain is meant to be worn diagonally across the chest from the left shoulder[28]. The chain (E. 2301) was acquired in

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Sulaimani, and is called: *kâškûl*. It is composed of 40 flower-shaped links of silver, and measures, extended, 0.730 m. Inset between the links is a silver begging bowl. It is this begging bowl that Kurds call *kâškûl*, from which the whole chain has apparently gained its name[29]. From the chain hang two silver bells[30], two triangular amulet cases of silver[31], two small silver watering cans[32], and two oval pieces of reddish-yellow carnelian[33].

The women wore necklaces. Two such have been brought back; the one (E. 2290) is known as *bârmâru*, 1.10 m. long. Amidst the 45 glass beads a greyish-white, spherical, agate bead[34] has been inserted to avert evil[35]. In addition, this necklace has hanging from it an amulet sewn up in material, which will be discussed when reviewing later that type of charm. The other necklace (E. 2291) called *milwânka*, length 1.46 m., comprises 38 elements consisting of beads of various colours and shapes, and two white snails shells. According to Donaldson[36] these are to avert evil. The necklace also possessed a large, cylindrical piece of moss agate[37] and an amulet sewn into a piece of brocade.

Among the amulet jewellery for women are temple ornaments intended for fastening to the turban among the coin chains (see ornaments). A set (E. 2294–2295) known as *gul* consists of two flat, oval, yellowish-red carnelians mounted in silver, greatest diam. 0.036 m., reported to possess the same power of averting evil as the carnelian in the child's necklace, and furnished with pendants of Iranian silver coins.

These decorative amulets are made by bazar craftsmen, and are worn either alone or mounted in necklaces. Their protective effect is due to their colour (blue), their shape (snail shells), their sound (bells), or their material (carnelian, moss agate or onyx).

Enclosed amulets. The other type of amulet is enclosed. The amulet itself (a piece of folded, written paper) is concealed in a case. This may be made of coloured material[38] like brocade, velvet or cotton, having the shape of a square or triangular[39] package. It is sewn by the woman herself. This capsule can hang on a necklet worn by women[40]. (Cf. E. 2290 and E. 2291, the amulet packets of which measure 0.075×0.08×0.015 and 0.06×0.06×0.09 m., respectively). The capsule can be sewn on to a fez, be attached by a safety pin to the waistcoat or to a child's costume. Such small pouches of material were seen in Kurdistan hung up on an inside wall to protect the house. The pouch can also be of metal, either a flat, triangular amulet box[41] like that already referred to, hanging from a child's shoulder (E. 2301), or like a cylinder[42] worn hanging vertically from the woman's waistcoat or in her necklace. An example (E. 2292) known as *lûla*, is 0.092 m. in length and has been struck in a matrix. It has a number of Iranian coins attached as decoration[43]. The pouches for these concealed amulets are either made at home, when it is a matter of pouches made of material, or by craftsmen if they were of metal.

On the other hand the contents, the amulet itself was, so far as I could ascertain, made by itinerant sayyids (cf. p. 108). I was able to watch the manufacture of two of such amulets in the aristocratic village milieu. Two itinerant sayyids, recognisable by the green binding round their turbans, arrived one day at the house of the Sheikh of Topzawa. On that day the village was visited by four wandering descendants of the Prophet, who called at various houses, where they did not appear to be uniformly welcome.

This category of itinerant holy men who is "preferably conspicuously clothed" appearing in villages as "transients of rather low status", is referred to in the case of the Kurds by Barth, who states that

[Text continues top of p. 158--Analyst]

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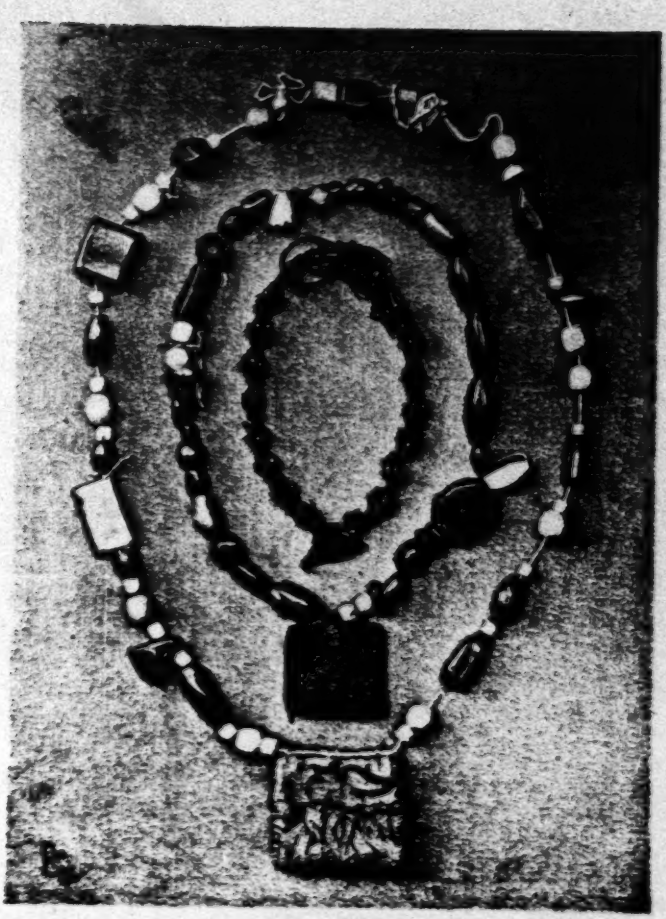

Fig. 98. Necklaces with amulets for women: dried clove with triangular amulet (E. 2289)
– stones and cowries, rectangular amulet (E. 2291)
– stones, rectangular amulet (E. 2290).

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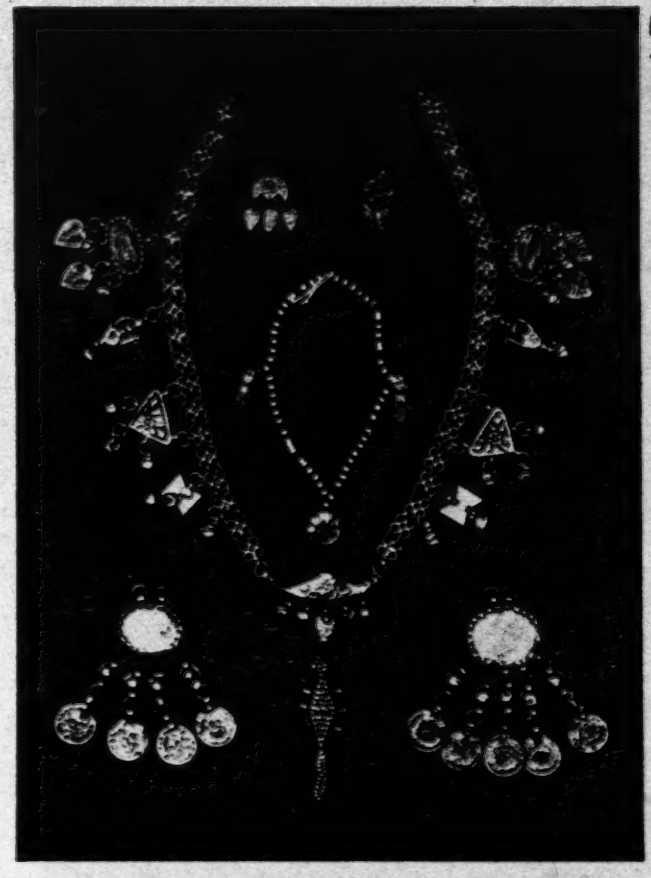

Fig. 99. Jewish protecting the child against the evil eye: shoulder- and chest chain with beggar's bowl (E. 2301) – chain of blue glass beads with small hands (E. 2287a) – blue button (E. 2287b) – scorpion of blue glass beads (E. 2287d) – crescent of gold (E. 2302). For the women: temple ornaments (E. 2294–95).

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

792 554 463 they make "good-luck charms, love-charms, charms against sickness, etc."[44]. None of the grown-up men of the house was home at the time. The sayyids were not received in the guest room of the house in accordance with their station as strangers of a certain rank, that on exceptional occasions could be done by the women when no men were at home. They came straight in to the family's courtyard, and were invited to sit in the three-walled central room where, rather reluctantly, a deal had been agreed upon—amulets in return for flour and sugar emptied into the beggars' bags that the sayyids carried over their shoulders. These persons appeared to rank with the sheikh's servants. No refreshment was offered them, only a single cigarette. They were not regarded as honoured guests of the house.

792 789 463 The amulets were made whilst we watched. The one sayyid placed beside him a bottle of ink, asked the daughter of the house for two needles which he stuck in the sofa by the side of the ink bottle. He then produced from his dress an oblong piece of paper on which were drawn red lines, forming rectangular panels. These were filled in with figures, possibly also with words, but I was unable to distinguish this from the distance away I had to stand. On another piece of paper he took out was drawn a sword. On the reverse side of this paper rectangular fields were made with red pencil strokes. These also were filled with figures. The paper was then folded into a triangular packet, the bottom corner being bent diagonally, and the paper was then folded together.

306 789 The needles were picked up from the sofa, broken in the middle, and stuck into the triangular paper packet. The second piece of paper was also filled in with figures and then folded into a rectangular packet but without any iron content. When the amulets were handed over to the women they were laid in a little box in which already lay other amulets not yet enclosed in material. The box was kept in a coloured tin box with articles of clothing belonging to the lady of the house. I was not allowed to view the amulets whilst wearing my spectacles. Should I do so, I was told, they would lose their power to protect the person bearing them or the house on whose wall it was to hang.

Lane talks of the Arabs in Egypt with "written charms ... consisting of certain passages of the Kur'an and names of God"[45]. So far as I could determine without glasses and at the distance I was forced to keep, the amulets, the making of which I had witnessed, were figure charms. That iron is included in amulets, as in the case of the broken needles, is reported from Iran by Donaldson[46]. It did not appear that these amulets were made according to any formula. Amulet books are known from Afghanistan (E. 2193), and, referring to a Kurdish book of prophecies, Nikitine[47] reports that "... le même livre donne des spécimens pour les talismans utilisables dans tous les cas imaginables ...".

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789 *Holy hand.* Feilberg[48] refers to the Lurs having a rod with a small carved wooden hand at the top, that was carried in the waistband of an old man who allowed it to pass from hand to hand of those present, whereupon it was kissed and then passed along the one cheek and then the other. A large wooden hand, wrapped round with a fluttering cloth of the holy green colour, was carried round in the village of Topuwa by one of the other four sayyids who were "working" the place at the same time. This man also tried later to visit the sheikh's house, but got no further than the steps up to the loggia of the guest house, where the daughter of the house had just started to clean. As he entered

4: Hanson E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

the door to the loggia he greeted her by reaching out the hand in question, which she kissed, laid it against her brow and passed it along both her cheeks. The name of the hand was not given me but it should be a reproduction of a "holy hand" in Baghdad.

Soothsaying. In addition to the production of amulets, traded for flour and sugar, the two sayyids had yet another thing for sale: their skill in soothsaying. Actually, this was the reason why they were allowed to tarry among the women of Sheikh Taifûr's house in Topzawa. When the two parties had come to terms, a greasy book, kept in a plastic case of the sacred green colour hanging from the waistband of the one, was taken out and opened. One of the women placed her hand on it and pointed to one of the pages. The younger of the two sayyids then gave his interpretation in a droning voice.

Fortune-telling of this kind with the Kurds is referred to by Nikitine[49], who says: "Les Kurdes aiment beaucoup dire la bonne aventure ("déri"), et pour cela ils se servent d'un livre spécial en persane ... on l'ouvre à l'aveuglette, on regarde la sentence qui s'y trouve la première et on consulte l'indication que porte en haut chaque page ("bien" ou "mal") ...". A "prophecy" book of this type has been brought back from Afghanistan (E. 1275). In addition to this soothsaying with the help of a book opened at hazard, I also observed another form of fortune-telling. During my stay with the Sheikh at Sargalu, the house was visited by another wandering sayyid. Sitting on the floor, surrounded by women, he read their future by palmistry.

Visit to saints' graves. Kurdish women could visit saints' graves[50]. We visited a saint's grave outside Halabja. The saint's last resting place was in a small chapel where a grating cut off the grave itself and the carpet-hung superstructure from visitors. A basin with a spring, lying behind a wall outside the enclosure surrounding the chapel, allowed women to perform the ritual ablution necessary. One of the women that day was hindered on account of her menses (cf. p. 153) from entering the chapel and small plantation, which possessed a rag tree. Close to the saint's grave the women picked up small stones from the ground and attempted to make them stick to the wall at the side of the grating. It was said that if the stone remained sticking the wish one had would be granted, otherwise not.

Saints' graves were found in a part of a mosque in the mountain town of Tawella near to the Iranian frontier. The mosque there, described as a *tekye*[51], was apparently a Suñ religious house[52]. The superstructures over the saints' graves inside were like houses and were hung with silken rugs[53]. On the one was the turban of the deceased. A young girl kissed the turban[54] respectfully, and accepted some soil scraped together and handed her[55] by the *mulla* who accompanied us. Over that part of the building, the architecture of which evinced considerable Persian influence in the horseshoe arches, the saints' graves were housed under vaulted domes, each of which was surmounted by a hand with outstretched fingers.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

nerated ... the credulous ... tie rags and strings to its branches, and at the same time they make a request and take a vow that they will perform some meritorious act if the request is granted."

In order that the promise shall not be rendered valueless, the rags must "être sans couture" is mentioned by Massé[62].

Concerning the custom of tying rags to the branches of trees in the vicinity of sheikhs' and saints' graves, Nikitine[63] writes: "... tant qu'il reste attaché là, ce chiffon est garant des prières du saint", and approaches the idea, also verbally mentioned by Feilberg, that there may be a parallel between these hung-up rags and the waving wooden shavings of the Ainu, indeed, with the idea behind the praying wheels of the Mongols and other Lamaistic Buddhists.

There can be little doubt that the rag tree is an old heathen survival. This view is expressed by Maunsell[64], Østrup[65], Feilberg[66] and Soane[67], Østrup[68], who has seen rag trees in the Taurus Mountains of Turkey, believes that *in this custom we find crippled remnants of the ancient resurrection* ceremony that is still preserved in its entirety by a few Indian tribes.

The sacrifice of animals as a means of promoting health was referred to by my interpreter. She intended in due course to sacrifice a sheep in order that her 6 year old brother's broken and badly-set leg might improve when she took him next to the doctor, possibly in Baghdad.

Hillas:	Village orientasy	Rustik Village	Educated urban	Uneducated urban
Visible amulets	+-	+		+
Encased amulets	+	+		+
Holy hand	+	+		
Saints' grave			+	+
Rag tree	+			+
Rag poles	+			+

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

intensity of village loyalty is produced that is rarely found in other tenant villages.

Ritual homage. Whereas many villages lack the material focus of a mosque, religious activities still have considerable integrative functions, especially the standardized prayers, or, more properly, the ritual homage paid to Allah five times daily, facing Mecca, as the Prophet Mohammed commanded. This homage being of a standardized type and involving a stereotyped series of postures, supposedly performed simultaneously by all the villagers, it symbolizes a solidarity and *gemeinschaft* that must be re-inforced, shall the community persist. The personal prayer occasionally appended is unimportant; the emphasis is on the *common* ritual.

The time for prayer is specified in relation to sunrise and sundown, e. g. one two hours preceding, another one and a half hours after sundown. Since no clocks or watches are commonly available in the village, «calling to prayer» gives opportunity for controlling behavior in the religious field, and thus for the emergence of a type of leadership. Where a mullah is present, he naturally performs the function; where there is no mullah, the local derwish or head of the local derwishes tries to assume this responsibility. His melodious chant certainly thrills a Western ear in the quiet evening; but the call is not necessarily responded to very quickly; furthermore, *Hadji* and other important persons will tend to take an autonomous view of the proper time for prayers. Thus, unless a mullah of some importance is present, the degree of *leadership* implied in calling to prayer is rather slight. However, this fact would not seem to detract significantly from the integrative symbolism of the simultaneous ritual homage to God.

Communal magic. The only cases of communal magic which I became aware of are concerned with the most critical and unpredictable question in Kurdish subsistence: rain. The other examples of magic are of different types: The ordinary derwish motion, performed in public, are not instrumental in the sense that they are directed towards achieving some practical and generally covered end; the magic connected with amulets for protection etc. are of a personal and private kind. The art of rainmaking, on the other hand, is still

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

practiced as a communal rite in cases of need, and gives the competent derwish an opportunity to reinforce his special position and demonstrate his control of power.

The actual rite is in rough outline quite simple. After an all-night session of prayer and purification on the part of the derwish, he is taken to a pool in the near-by, dwindling stream, and submerged in the water.

It is difficult to say just what degree of emotional intensity is involved in the rite as far as a majority of the participants is concerned. In the special case in question, they did not seem particularly impressed — the derwish involved was one who was frequently the object of mild horseplay, and the actual act of ducking him might have some appeal to the less serious minded. However this may be, the gravity of drought should not be underestimated, and would hardly be conducive to horseplay. The winter rains seemed to have stopped much too early, and the rite was a response to this serious situation. Considering this, the preformance was probably more emotionally charged than some of the superficial comments might suggest, and certainly served to emphasize the unity and solidarity of the group. — It might incidentally be noted that this specific rite also was successful, in that fairly heavy rains followed shortly.

Thus, this ritual of rainmaking is concerned with a very critical communal problem, and enables the derwish to assume a momentary position of dominant importance in his community. An interesting deviation from the stated norm was also observed in this case: the young son of the village *Agha* was submerged alongside with the derwish[1]). This equivalence may be significant in several respects. From the point of view of the derwish, it indicates the considerable extent of his momentary prestige — from a normal status of laborer he is elevated to temporary equivalence with the heir apparent of the village *Agha*. It may also illustrate something in the Kurdish conception of power: there is no really clear distinction made between the

[1]) The fact that the son rather than the *Agha* himself was chosen is best understood in terms of the slightly ambivalent situation, and the rather undignified appearance of the actor following immersion.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

sacred powers of the derwish and the practical powers of the political leader; both are equally potent in the ritual situation, and their character may be covered best by the concept of personal charisma.

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THE FEAST

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The feast occupies a very prominent place in the communal life of the village, and is regarded as an active agent in producing solidarity and unity, as well as being a symbol of such unity. The fact of eating together in itself produces certain mutual obligations and solemnizes feelings of sympathy. The Bedouin ideal, that any person with whom you have eaten is inviolable for a minimum period of time, is not actually applied in Kurdish territory, but is well known and approved of as being highly ethical. Essentially similar, though less formal, obligations are implied in the Kurdish concept of sharing the bread.

Furthermore, the feast is a forum for conspicuous consumption, [554] and thus gives the host an opportunity to display his wealth, and to create and re-affirm ties of friendship by generosity. Thus the person who gives the feast can enhance his prestige in the village considerably; hospitality is an integral aspect of the Kurdish ideal of a *man*, conversely, a person with a reputation for miserliness suffers corresponding loss of prestige.

A feast in one form or another is thus a fairly frequent occurrance in the village. Since it will involve at least a major part and usually the whole of the village, it provides one of the major occasions in which leadership and moderate rivalry is expressed, and in which the relative prestige and resultant total status positions become systematized. Essentially, these feasts are of two major types, (1) connected with religious festivals, or (2) marking transitions of status in the life cycle of members of the society.

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Religious festivals. In some villages, the whole of the holy month of Ramadan is celebrated by regular communal evening meals at the mosque or in the village square. In this arrangement, either each household may in turn serve as hosts for the whole village, or each family brings its own food. Only the men partake in the meal; for them, it becomes a social occasion of major importance. The feast

561 religious festivals; though such transitions are of importance to the group as a whole, they concern one family more than other families in the village. There are no age-grades or similar organizations, and the celebrations thus remain more of a family affair. The scale of the celebrations is then determined by the means of the family, and the event is simply one more opportunity for conspicuous consumption and for re-affirming friendship ties. The celebrations and rites are concerned with birth and naming, circumcision, teething, tattooing, marriage, and death. Rites marking puberty are lacking. — Since it serves no purpose in the present context to describe the various rites in any detail, the following discussion will deal only with some more general aspects of the proceedings.

1144 Before the birth of the child, the parents, to the extent they can afford it, prepare clothes for it. During labor, neighboring women or a kind of specialist midwife may assist. The placenta is secretly buried. Certain precautions connected with the newborn infant are interesting, in that they emphasize the importance attached to sons,
• [719] and the woman's fear of being barren: When a boy is born, the relatives guard him day and night for seven days, and may further protect him by laying a knife, large needle, or onion-leaf beside his crib. This is so that the *shaoa*, a form of *djinn* or supernatural being, will not be able to harm him. The shaoa is said to be an old childless woman who becomes envious to see a child born. The shaoa is not so interested in girl children, so there is no need to guard a girl baby, though a knife or onion-leaf may be placed beside her.

553 On the seventh or thirteenth day after birth, relatives and friends are called in, and a mullah is asked to officiate at the *naming ceremony*. On this occasion, the throat of a sheep is cut and a feast is given, if the parents can so afford.

852 *Circumcision* of boys is done any time before the age of puberty, and is usually performed simultaneously on a large number of boys. Islamic doctrine stipulates that it should never be done on less than three boys at a time — if there are only two boys present, it may in fact still be done, the neck of a rooster being cut off to substitute for the third boy. The officiator is a barber from some larger town, usually Suleimani. It is customary on this occasion for the village

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Iraq

793 aghas. But on account of the veneration
J65 in which they are held they can usually
command influence in circumstances
where that of an agha has begun to wane.

793 One day when I was sitting under a
• 769 leafy bower on the roof of a well-known
shaikh's house a terrific squall of wind and
rain suddenly arose. For a moment it
seemed as if the thick tree-trunks which
formed the framework of the shelter would
be torn from their foundations. A shaikhly
relative, seeing the fear on the faces of his
guests, smiled benevolently, saying:

"Have not! I will place my hands upon
the tree, and lo, it will not fall."

Suiting the action to the word, he
leaned his weight against the tree, and
indeed it did remain standing.

For a moment the overwhelming reli-
gious tension in the atmosphere was such
that I could scarcely refrain from echoing
the murmurs of veneration which rose
from the lips of the men around. I could

[p. 893(B)]

10(Johnson G-2 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

Quite understand how men born and bred in this village under the eye of their shaikh could not but regard him as possessing superhuman powers.

In modern Iraq the power of the shaikhs and aghas has been curtailed. The villager still works under his agha as the owner of the land—the only one, in fact, who is competent to organize and supervise the work of the village; but the simplest villager now realizes that all the power of his agha or holiness of his shaikh will avail him little should he unwisely be persuaded to act contrary to the law.

Certain individual Iraqis who cannot claim tribal ancestry talk glibly of "breaking up the tribes" and "exterminating the aghas" as has been done in some other countries, but on the whole the Iraq government treats the matter with greater foresight and seeks mainly to 'break' those chiefs who use their influence against the government.

[p. 393(c)]

Quercus infectoria Olivier (Fagaceae)

مازو

Mäzü (Ind.); Affar (Turk.); Ajam-oush (Ar.); Mainphala (Hind.); galls, mazd, or Dead Sea apples.

Field 46A, 447; W.H.M.M. 150702.

These galls are excrescences on the twigs of oak trees, resulting from the deposition of eggs of *Cynips gallae-tinctoriae* Olivier. Oak galls are collected in Asiatic Turkey, as well as in the province of Aleppo, and are known commercially as "Aleppo," "Smyrna," or "Turkey" galls. They are nearly spherical in shape, and vary from 12 to 20 mm. in diameter, bluish green externally and yellowish within. They are hard and heavy, and bear short, bluntly pointed projections. The galls contain from 50 to 70 per cent of gallotannic acid, and consequently are used medicinally as a local astringent, to be dusted on wounds. They find an extensive application technically in dyeing and tanning.—In Kurdistan they are sometimes strung as beads and hung over the cradle to ward off the Evil Eye (H.F.).

Quercus lusitanica Lam. var. **taurica**la (Fagaceae)

Talluk (?) (Iraq); Buera galls.

Field 102, 120 (Iraq).

These galls are formed by *Cynips tinctoria* Mayr. on the above oak, and also on *Quercus infectoria*. They are much larger than Aleppo galls, dark brown, oval or subspherical, 4 by 3.5 cm., yellowish brown within, a channel leading to the cavity in the center. They are very astringent and rich in tannic acid.

Quercus persica Jaub. & Spach (Fagaceae)

بلوط

Balût (Turk.); Glans Quercus Ballotae (Ph. Pers.); acorns.

Field 191; W.H.M.M. 150924.

This is one of the most common species of oak throughout the forests of Kurdistan and the Rowandiz area. The acorns are oblong, 3.5 by 1.7 cm., light brown in color, glabrous, shining, and contain a single seed. Acorns have a styptic action because of the tannin they contain; they are used for colic pains in children, and as a gargle. —In Kurdistan acorns are sometimes eaten raw, but they are usually roasted and the flour made into cakes (H.F.).

Quercus sp. (Fagaceae)

Ginah mashi (Ham.); Kiss, Kess; spiny galls.